

O
753
1937

By Congressman
Vito Marcantonio



SHOULD AMERICA GO TO WAR?

1c

AMERICAN LEADERS FROM ALL WALKS OF LIFE, representing all political, religious and national groups, are saying "Half-way measures are not enough! To smash Hitler we must overcome all obstacles to full and complete aid Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China! And we must do it immediately!"

Congressman Vito Marcantonio, vice-chairman of the American People's Mobilization, has outlined the immediate needs and objectives of a smash-Hitler foreign policy. A.P.M. herewith presents his speech, made on the floor of the House of Representatives on October 16, in the belief that it constitutes the clearest expression of America's need that has come from Congress. It should, and it must, be read by hundreds of thousands throughout the land.

Should America Go to War?

MMR. MARCANTONIO: Mr. Chairman, an analysis of the Record will show that from the very inception of Congressional debates on the various issues pertaining to our foreign policy, I have consistently opposed all steps which I deemed to be steps in the direction of involving the United States in an imperialist war. I believed then, in 1939 and in 1940, that the war of 1939 and 1940, up to the 22nd day of June, 1941, was a war between two Axes, the Wall Street-Downing Street Axis versus the Rome-Tokyo-Berlin Axis, contending for empire and for exploitation of more and more people.

I believed then that the war of 1939 and 1940, up to June, 1941, was an imperialist war. I still believe that the war of 1939 and 1940 and up to June, 1941, was an imperialist war.

However, I maintain that from the standpoint of defense of our nation, the liberties and the national interests of the people of the United States, the invasion of the Soviet Union by Hitler transformed that war which was predominantly imperialist into a war which is now essentially one of national defense. Therefore, in such a war of defense, all questions become subordinate to the interests of defense. Further, the

people throughout the world and particularly in the existence of the United States depended on an uncon-
United States have become, since June 22, 1941, a red Soviet Union. A Hitler conquest of either made
more and more involved in a war of defense and the Hitler conquest of the other almost a certainty.
guarantee a democratic peace after the military defeat. MR. BARRY: Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman
of Hitlerism. A war of defense becomes a democratized?
war and insures thereby a defeat of imperialist purpose. MR. MARCANTONIO: Yes.
after the destruction of the common enemy, Hitler. MR. BARRY: When Russia was Hitler's ally, were

At no time during my consistent opposition to the not in just as much danger as we are now?
imperialist war did I base my opposition on reasons of pacifism. I have at all times stated that if I had believed demonstrated that the treaty of non-aggression
that the war then was a war of defense, that if the war between Hitler and Russia was not a treaty of allies; then was a war for democracy, I would have voted no at the Soviet Union had, but would not give to Hitler
only for \$16,000,000,000 or \$65,000,000,000, but rather, the materials he needed for his schemes, and Hitler
was ready not only to vote the entire Treasury of himself has proven by his invasion that there existed no
United States for the prosecution of such a war, but also alliance and that the Soviet Union was a threat to his
for active participation in such a war. Why has then of world conquest.
character of the war changed? What are the reason You will find your answer in Mr. Hitler's speech,
which lead me to believe that a war which was prelude on the eve of the invasion of the Soviet Union.
dominantly imperialist has become essentially a war on that speech he stated that he could not carry out his
national defense for the people of the United Statesians, that he could not invade various parts of the

The first reason is one of geography. A look at the world as long as he had on his eastern frontier a strong,
map will demonstrate that a conquered Soviet Union or well-armed Soviet Union.
would place a Nazi military bridgehead within row. MR. BARRY: Did not Stalin share the spoils of con-
boat distance of our own northwestern shores, Alaska, Poland, when he took the half of Poland?
You cannot get away from that. Secondly, in the world. MR. MARCANTONIO: I submit also that time and
of 1940 and the early part of 1941 Hitler could not have demonstrated—and everybody will have
move against the Western Hemisphere. We were not in admit it, irrespective of your feelings toward the
military danger as long as Hitler had on his eastern Soviet Union—that the Soviet Union could not have
boundary a powerful, well-armed Soviet Union. The participated in an imperialist and phony war which was
defense interests of the United States and the Soviet Union conducted by Daladier and Chamberlain, because
Union were interdependent. The existence of the Soviet cause it would have meant becoming another victim of
Union depended on an unconquered United States. The appeasement plans of these Munich men.

It would have meant the isolation of the Soviet Union remains unconquered, and that a conquerible machine entirely against the Soviet Union. Holland or France or Norway, but is a case of taking fact, from September 1, 1939, to the time of the war by Hitler of that which he needs to carry on a war sion of Holland, both Daladier and Chamberlain winst the United States.

seeking again to appease Hitler and turn the war imagine a world with a conquered Soviet Russia, a war by Hitler, aided by his allies in England demanded by Hitler, with all of the natural and in- France, against the Soviet Union.

trial resources of the Soviet Union, with its tremen-

The taking of part of Poland by the Soviet Unis oil reserves, with everything that Hitler needs to accomplished two justifiable purposes. One, that of carrying on his program of world conquest. fense, and two, that of saving a portion of the PoWhat would that mean to England and to the United people from the fury of Hitler. The history of wotes? In England it would give such encouragement events since June 22 has demonstrated the correctrthe appeasement forces that a conquered Soviet Union of the Soviet position. ght bring about a Parliamentary overthrow of men

Now let me return to my discussion of the change Churchill, and put in his place those who are ready character of the war. The realities of the world of 1939 bring about a negotiated peace between England and and the realities of the world of 1940, up to June, 1941; and a negotiated peace between England and were such that Hitler, with his tremendous machitler will be really a peace of capitulation, because an could not move toward world conquest since he had peasement-controlled England will be a Nazi-con- his eastern frontier a strong, well-armed Soviet Uniold England from every standpoint and especially and further that the Soviet Union possessed and woum the standpoint of defense of our nation and our not give to Hitler the resources needed for his planional interests. world conquest.

Further than that, what will it mean in the United

We all know Hitler's plan of conquest, and I thites? A conquered Soviet Union would mean, aside every person in this House must admit that Hitler the geographic military danger that I have point- plan of world conquest cannot be achieved without fi out, we will face a strong possibility of conquest conquering the United States of America either from within. Here, too, the appeasement forces may within or from without. I think it becomes very on ascendancy as a result of Hitler-controlled Europe, vious as every day goes by to every person who is intcluding the Soviet Union. ested in the defense of the United States, and in t Further, let us examine the situation in the East for continued existence of the United States as a free nationoment. It is bad enough that we would have had to that Hitler cannot conquer the United States as long al with a fascist Japan serving a fascist ideology and

Japanese fascist interests, but imagine what kind of fascism, irrespective of their national character. The Japan we would be dealing with if the Soviet Union character of the war has changed and I have no other conquered. It would place Japan from a military stansistent course to follow but to support a war of dependent in the same position that Mussolini was placed as vigorously as I opposed a war of imperialist by the conquest of Austria. Italy became a Nazi-dogression.

nated peninsula, playing Hitler's game from A to For these reasons I now favor the President's foreign Why? Because of the presence of a tremendous Nicly.

army that could rush down the Po Valley and take o What do we mean by "defense"? In the light of as it has already done for all purposes and effect. e world situation, defense is no longer just a question

[Here the gavel fell]

MR. BLOOM: Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentlelenthwart the plan of the enemy. three additional minutes.

MR. MARCANTONIO: So that we would no longeren proceeding toward this goal by using the one-dealing with a fascist Japan, but we would be dealnt-at-a-time technique. The conquest of the United with a Nazi-dominated fascist Japan, ready to do ates becomes very possible and feasible if we alone bidding of Adolf Hitler in his moves against the Unire forced to fight a Hitler who would dominate not States.

ly the Europe that he now dominates but the Soviet Thus, for these reasons alone, as far as the Amerinon as well, with an England controlled by the people are concerned, the war has been transformrces of appeasement and with a Hitler-dominated from a war which was imperialistic in character intpan.

war of national defense. Hence, the realities of a wo To fight that kind of a Hitler and wait for that kind of 1939, 1940 to June, 1941, demanded a democra situation to develop is, in my opinion, not defense; peace to end the imperialist war of that period. Twould be bordering on national defeat. We must pre-realities of October, 1941, make such a peace impossilnt that situation from developing.

and demand the military defeat of Hitler. The milit The arming of ships is necessary.

defeat of Hitler is today America's only defense a I go further than that. I believe that what is neces-the only salvation for the people throughout the worry is to repeal the entire Neutrality Act.

I submit therefore that, in now supporting th I go still further than that. I honestly believe, and very measures which I have opposed in the past, I me and events will demonstrate, that what is essential supporting them for the same reasons which motivat defeat the Hitler plan of one nation at a time, that my opposition, namely, defense of our nation and ont at a time, that what is therefore essential in order liberties and opposition to imperialism and oppositi defend the United States, is for the United States of

America to do everything possible to bring about opening of a western front, and thereby prevent triumph of Hitler in the battles which he is now waging.

That, in my opinion, is the most realistic approach to this problem. It is necessary and inexorable in the interests of the defense of our country and of our national interests.

[Here the gavel fell.]

MR. BLOOM: Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman one additional minute.

MR. MARCANTONIO: Let us not permit another defeat of our defense interests to take place. If Hitler is victorious at Moscow and if we permit Hitler to be victorious in Russia, we shall be responsible again for what happened at the gates of Madrid.

When many of us protested and pointed out that the fall of Madrid would mean the beginning of a tremendous offensive against democracy we were ignored and shunned by those who sat in the seats of the mighty. Madrid fell, and the destruction of Republican Spain was followed by Munich and an imperialistic war.

Now there is forced upon us, as a result of that policy, a war of defense for our very existence. If we permit the battle of Moscow, the battle of Russia, to be lost by the people there, and if we permit Hitler to triumph, then we will face consequences which will be a great deal more perilous to our very existence than that which followed the fall of Madrid.

THE CHAIRMAN: The time of the gentleman from New York has again expired.

MR. TINKHAM: Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman one additional minute.

MR. MUNDT: Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

MR. MARCANTONIO: I yield.

MR. MUNDT: I would like to ask the gentleman from New York, in view of his present analysis of the situation, whether he would favor sending an American expeditionary force to help open this western front of which he speaks?

MR. MARCANTONIO: I will be honest with you. I think it is necessary in defense of our country. I am absolutely in favor of it, and I am not going to dodge the question on this issue. I stood alone many times when I opposed the imperialist war, and I am not going to evade my duty in advocating what is needed in the successful and speedy prosecution of a war in our own

defense. You are not going to settle this issue of Hitler's world domination unless we are ready to open a western front. This is a war of defense of our country. We must not hesitate to fight in it.

MR. SCOTT: Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

MR. MARCANTONIO: I yield.

MR. SCOTT: Is it the point of view of the gentleman from New York that this war has become a righteous war only since the Communists entered it or not?

MR. MARCANTONIO: The issue is not communism. The issue is defense of our country. Because of the invasion of the Soviet Union and for the reasons that I have pointed out, namely, the establishment of a Nazi

military bridgehead within rowboat distance of our northwestern territory—

THE CHAIRMAN: The time of the gentleman has again expired.

MR. MARCANTONIO: May I have at least one minute to answer the question?

MR. TINKHAM: I yield the gentleman an additional minute, Mr. Chairman.

MR. MARCANTONIO: For the reasons that I pointed out, namely, the establishment of a Nazi military bridgehead within rowboat distance of the United States, with Russia's tremendous resources falling into the hands of Hitler, by which he can carry on a war and all the mechanical force and manpower at his disposal against the United States and the Western Hemisphere, and to crush both Russia and Britain. . . . It is our a Nazi-controlled Japan, which would come about as a result of the conquest of the Soviet Union—those reasons transform the imperialist war of 1939, 1940 and up to June, 1941, into a war of defense—defense, as I have explained, and which I again repeat, of the United States.

It is not a question of the Soviet Union; it is a question of America. We are facing facts, and the realities of such a situation demand that we pursue the policy of defense to its very limit.

MR. SCOTT: If the gentleman would yield just a second further, is it not a fact that the gentleman's interest in the defense of America to the extent to which he has just stated it dates from the day of the invasion of Soviet Russia by Germany?

MR. MARCANTONIO: My interest in the defense of America has existed since December 10, 1902, the day I was born.

THE END

HE following are excerpts from recent statements by political, business and labor leaders which illustrate how all sections of the American people are insisting that Government must take action now to stop Hitler from attacking the U. S. eventually, as emphasized in Congress-Marcantonio's speech.

Franklin D. Roosevelt:

We would be blind to the realities if we did not recognize that Hitler is now determined to extend all the resources and all the mechanical force and manpower at his command to crush both Russia and Britain. . . . It is our duty more swiftly to Britain, to Russia, to all peoples and individuals fighting slavery. We must do this without fear or favor. The ultimate fate of the Western Hemisphere is in the balance."

Edmund Willkie:

We can no more negotiate a peace with the warlords of Tokyo than with the conquering dictator of Berlin. On every continent, in every ocean, we can only stop the partners

William Green, President American Federation of Labor:

We are going to advise the President of the United States that we will give him all we have in support of his program, and we will tell him further that if it is necessary take more decisive action in order to maintain freedom the seas and to protect democracy throughout the world, we will stand by him and follow to the bitter end."

Now is the Time to Demonstrate our Overwhelming Support of an Immediate All-Out Program to Smash Hitlerism!

Repeal the Neutrality Act!

Join Great Britain in opening a Western Front against Hitler!

Stop the Japanese fascists in their tracks!

Increase U. S. production a hundred-fold!

Release a torrent of planes, tanks and other war materials to the soldiers of the Soviet Union, Great Britain and China!

Defeat the forces of appeasement and fascism in the United States!

Overcome public apathy! Speak out for an immediate smash-Hitler policy!

Circulate Congressman Vito Marcantonio's fighting pamphlet *Should America Go to War?* Distribute it in your trade unions and fraternal organizations, at shop gates and on street corners. Order now! Price: \$1 per hundred paid. Write for special prices on larger orders.

AMERICAN PEOPLE'S MOBILIZATION

1133 Broadway
New York, N. Y.

Please send me copies of Congressman Marcantonio's pamphlet SHOULD AMERICA GO TO WAR? I enclose \$.....

NAME

ADDRESS

DO NOT REMOVE
SLIP FROM POCKET